

background as a South Carolina farm laborer with little education to working with Manly's press. By 1900, he was living with the Manly brothers and other "exiles" from North Carolina in Washington, D. C. and was working as a commercial printer. He remained in the city and continued to work as a printer for the next several decades, eventually finding a wife and securing a stable life for himself as a self-employed printer. Goins exemplified the improved conditions met by many men who fled the city as a result of November 10, 1898. A young man, Goins found another life in another city and built upon the business foundations he established in Wilmington. Other young men who left the city after the riot and found opportunity to prosper in other parts of the country were attorneys William Henderson and Armond Scott.⁵⁹

John C. Dancy

Another highly successful African American who was present in the city at the time of the riot was John C. Dancy. Dancy was part of a larger family from Tarboro and enjoyed wide political connections and mutual respect of whites and blacks before the riot and had just come to the city for his second term as Collector for the Port in 1898. Because of his status as a federally appointed employee with political connection in Washington, D. C., Dancy escaped the violence of 1898 since the white leaders of the coup knew interference with Dancy would certainly result in federal intervention. Dancy left the city for a short while around the time of the violence but returned to serve his term as Collector until he was appointed to be the Register of Deeds for the District of Columbia by President Theodore Roosevelt in 1902.

⁵⁹ United States Census, 1870, 1880, 1900, 1910, 1920; Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*, 462-3; Cody, "After the Storm."

Dancy became an influential spokesman for African Americans respected by many on both sides of the color line. In his speeches Dancy emphasized the need for African Americans to focus on improving the race as a whole even as he lauded the efforts of a wide spectrum of other leading blacks from Booker T. Washington to Frederick Douglass. Quite wealthy by the time of his death in Washington in 1920, Dancy exemplified a leadership formula that defined the limits of his accommodation of the tenets of white supremacy rhetoric. His connections and desire to bridge the gaps between the races extended to his son who became a leader in the Urban League.⁶⁰

Mapping the City

Japanese scholar Hayumi Higuchi, while in graduate school at UNC-Chapel Hill in the 1970's, studied the changes in residential patterns in the city using the city directories from 1897, 1902, and 1905.⁶¹ Higuchi found that in 1897 the core of the city was dominated by whites in a triangular pattern beginning with Ninth at Market working outward to Second at Dawson and at Campbell. One small exception could be found in two neighboring streets, North

⁶⁰ Reaves, *Strength Through Struggle*, 384-6; Booker T. Washington Papers, Livingstone College; John C. Dancy, Jr., *Sand Against the Wind*, 60-71, 75; Louis T. Harlan, ed., *Booker T. Washington Papers*, v.5, 123-4; Powell, William, ed., "John C. Dancy," *Dictionary of North Carolina Biography*.

⁶¹ Higuchi plotted every residence in the directory by race and then determined the percentage of race by street to understand the racial make-up of the city. If a street had fewer than 15% black occupants, it was considered a white street; if a street had 85% or more black, it was considered a black street. Other increments of the percentage of black residents on a street were also marked: 75-84%, 60-74%, 40-59%, 25-39%, 15-24%, 0-14%. The maps were not included in her original thesis but were shared for use in this work. New maps based on her work are included in this report.